

**Daily Mail**

Embassy raid  
starts combat

**Big  
Yard  
hunt  
for**

**EMBASSY  
SHOOTING  
BIG BY**

**Daily Mirror**

**BULLETS  
U.S. EMBASSY  
LONDON**

**LA POLICE QUI TRAITE UNE NOUVELLE NUIT  
BLEUE" AMERICAINES GARDE NUIT ET POUR  
LES ÉTABLISSEMENTS U.S. DE LA CAPITAL**

**L'**E commandement de plastiques qui est allé la nuit dernière au siège parisien de trois établissements américains (deux banques et une compagnie d'aviation), a nagé la police pendant près de deux heures. Après l'explosion de ce qu'on croit être une charge de plastique, quelques minutes avant trois heures du matin, a la « Chase Manhattan Bank », 41, rue Cambon, le quartier de l'Opéra, était truffé de voitures de police et de policiers. Et pourtant cela n'a pas empêché les plastiques de déposer deux autres charges à main de deux cents mètres de la rue Cambon, à 3 h. 10, devant l'entrée de la « Bank of America », à l'angle de la rue Danielle Casanova et de la place Vendôme, et à 4 h. 40, devant la vitrine du bureau de la « Trans World Airlines », 17, rue de la Harpe.

**Clamoroso attentato contro  
l'ambasciata USA a Londra**

**Le Monde**



**THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY  
SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT: 1st of May Group**

**Investissez  
vos capitaux  
en toute sécurité  
(hypothèques 1<sup>er</sup> rang)  
aucun frais**



## BLACK CROSS APPEAL:

### THE IRISH SCAPEGOATS

Three anarchists have been in the Curragh military prison for some considerable time. Desmond Keane, Columba Longmore and Robert Cullen were sentenced to five, four and seven years respectively. Noel Murray, another defendant in the same case, jumped bail and his wife Marie McPhilips received a two year suspended sentence.

Among other things the above comrades were charged with was the blowing up of the Spanish Embassy in Dublin, but over a period of time there had been a build up of a long awaited repression against Irish libertarian supporters and sympathisers.

On September 11, 1975 a policeman was shot dead after a bank raid in North Dublin in which £7,000 was taken. After running around in circles, the police turned to the "spectre of anarchism" and, in the early morning of September 23, 1975, raided the addresses of known anarchists throughout Dublin.

The raids were not only directed against known anarchists, but also on the relations and friends of those Anarchists in prison. The vindictiveness of this action can be seen by the arrest of mother, brother and sister of one of the Curragh prisoners. They were interrogated for hours.

One comrade who has looked after the welfare of prisoners was taken to Raheny police station where he was violently beaten to such an extent that he had to be hospitalised. Another comrade had several ribs broken by the Irish police during his "questioning". Why? They hoped that the prisoners would "confess" to knowing who was responsible for the policeman's death.

The Evening Herald ran headlines that the policeman had been shot by anarchists. Yet at this stage the police did not know the identity of the person — only, it seems, his political convictions. It then went on to connect the imprisoned comrades with them — thus using the standard of guilt by association. A reward of £20,000 was offered for any information leading to the conviction of the persons responsible.

Guilt by association could only mean Noel Murray, and there were plenty to swear it was him at the price offered. Over the previous eight months Noel and Marie had become a thorn in the side of the establishment, and the Irish police went to great lengths to inculcate both of them as a libertarian *Bonny and Clyde*.

On October 9, 1975 Noel and Marie returned home and were met by a policeman brandishing a machine-gun at them, and who roared "You're dead Murray!" The house had been surrounded by forty armed police in their absence and they were taken into custody. When they had been arrested, the police then went round to arrest another comrade by the name of Ronan Stenson — who had been held previously but later released. His activity? He is a long standing activist for prisoners' rights and a member of the Prisoners' Rights Organisation, who had become a great embarrassment to the Irish Government for his persistent exposure of prison conditions. It seems to be more than a coincidence that only two days before his arrest his picture appeared in a national daily (*The Irish Times*) handing out PRO leaflets to Prime Minister Cosgrave.

(cont. back cover)

# **THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT**

A study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group.

**Edited  
by  
Albert Meltzer**





ANNUNCIATO A MADRID DAL SEGRETARIO DELL'ORGANIZZAZIONE CNT

**Je n'ai jamais été enlevé**

**È stato rapito dagli anarchisti il consigliere ecclesiastico spagnolo**

Luis Fila, della Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, ha detto a un giornale

INFORMACIÓN NACIONAL Y EXTRANJERA - ON ALORS QU'IL QUITTANT LE VATICAN

# RAPTO DE MONSEÑOR USSIA

## PLEMA DIPLOMÁTICO DE GRAV

### ENLEVÉ A ROME

#### ES ANARCHISTES

Santa Sede en igual medida que a España

Contents

Page 1	1900-1939
4	1939-1945
7	1945-1960
11	1960-1966
17	Grupo 1º de Mayo
22	Some Documents
26	Towards the Creation of an Anarchist International
32	And now... what?
36	Press Communique
38	Operation Durruti
48	Postscript
51	Chronology

Page 2: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 3: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 4: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 5: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 6: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 7: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 8: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 9: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 10: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 11: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 12: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 13: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 14: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 15: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 16: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 17: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 18: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 19: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 20: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 21: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 22: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 23: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 24: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 25: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 26: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 27: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 28: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 29: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 30: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 31: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 32: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 33: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 34: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 35: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 36: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 37: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 38: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 39: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 40: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 41: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 42: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 43: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 44: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 45: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 46: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 47: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 48: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 49: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 50: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 51: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 52: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 53: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 54: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 55: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 56: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 57: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 58: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 59: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 60: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 61: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 62: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 63: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 64: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 65: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 66: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 67: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 68: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 69: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 70: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 71: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 72: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 73: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 74: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 75: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 76: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 77: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 78: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 79: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 80: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 81: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 82: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 83: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 84: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 85: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 86: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 87: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 88: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 89: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 90: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 91: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 92: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 93: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 94: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 95: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 96: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 97: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 98: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 99: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

Page 100: L'enlèvement du prélat espagnol

## « Libérez les prisonniers politiques espagnols nous relâcherons Mgr Marcos Ussia »

**affirme à Madrid, le chef des anarchistes qui revendique le rapt du prélat, à Rome**

Le mystère persiste ce matin sur le sort de Mgr Ussia. Le cardinal, évêque de Tarragona, est toujours enlevé. Les anarchistes espagnols, qui ont déclaré leur solidarité avec le prélat, ont déclaré qu'ils ne le relâcheront pas.

A Madrid, un nouveau mouvement a été lancé. Les anarchistes ont déclaré qu'ils ne relâcheront pas le prélat, mais qu'ils le relâcheront si les prisonniers politiques espagnols sont libérés.

Mgr Ussia a été enlevé à Rome, le 12 mars 1966. Les anarchistes ont déclaré qu'ils ne le relâcheront pas, mais qu'ils le relâcheront si les prisonniers politiques espagnols sont libérés.

Mgr Ussia a été enlevé à Rome, le 12 mars 1966. Les anarchistes ont déclaré qu'ils ne le relâcheront pas, mais qu'ils le relâcheront si les prisonniers politiques espagnols sont libérés.

## MONSEÑOR USSIA

### freigelassen

#### 12thiger Gefangenschaft

#### der Prälat gestern bei Rom

#### einem Entführer

#### ANARCHISTA

#### An Anarchisten entführt?

#### GRAVE BALDON PARA LA POLITICA ITALIANA

# 1900-1939

Once again in history Anarchism is singled out by every reactionary force as its main enemy. World Governments, moving closer together against the common threat of the common people, fear a socialism unfettered by government ties, a class struggle without the limitations imposed by the parliamentary game, a working class without a leadership that aims at imposing authority either by a new dictatorship or by bourgeois parliamentarianism.

Before the First World War the main impetus to social revolution came from the anarchist and revolutionary syndicalist movements. However, following the defeat of the Russian Revolution with the triumph of authoritarian communism, world capitalism tended to concentrate its energies on destroying this apparent danger to its continued existence, thus giving the impression that the libertarian movement and its ideas were superfluous, or, at best, a side issue to the main struggle, so far as the organised working class was concerned. Only in a minority of countries did anarchism take the lead, elsewhere the very idea of freedom went into decline.

Capitalism, using the dictatorial methods of state communism wherever necessary, forced a situation where the apparent alternatives seemed to be (state) communism or fascism.

This did not prevent the anarchist movement from maintaining the intensity of the class struggle throughout the 1920s. It was the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain (the CNT) which carried the whole weight of labour organisation throughout the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (when the socialist leaders took office in order to try to boost the socialist UGT union at its expense) and during the equally perfidious republic which followed. In Italy, individual and collective



libertarian attacks against Mussolini and his regime formed the main anti-fascist resistance. In France, anarchists fought a losing battle to keep the unions to their original syndicalist basis, while in the USA the IWW as the legatee to all that was libertarian and syndicalist in both the European and American traditions, fought a valiant battle against reaction. In the Argentine and Uruguay there were murderous assaults against the anarchist movement which fought on to maintain working class solidarity against the selfishness of the ruling class. In China, where the Communist Party sold out the proletarian revolution to follow the successful bourgeois revolutionists under Chiang Kai Shek, anarchists continued the struggle for workers' councils on the same lines as those of the first German revolution in 1918 and the factory occupations in Italy. In Russia, the struggle was passing from the battle-fields and the factories into the prison camps. In Britain, anarchists were prominent in the shop stewards' movement and especially the unemployed workers' movement.

All this maintained a movement that had reached a high point of international struggle before the first world war; but it was nevertheless true that the whole trend of the post-world war 1 era appeared to be 'communism v. fascism'. As fascism triumphed in the 'have not' imperialist countries most threatened by state communism, it steadily began to menace the 'have' imperialist countries stable enough to resist that pressure, and so the situation of 'democracy v. fascism' developed. The ruling-class throughout the world had threatened to take away democratic liberties and substitute fascism if their domination was threatened, but gradually fascism became associated with the aggressive 'have not' imperialism against the defensive empires. It began to seem to many that there was some identity of interests between capitalist and worker; and with the defence of the Soviet Union in mind, the Communist Party began to reiterate this theme incessantly.

This period ended with the Spanish Civil War. There it was the anarcho-syndicalist movement which responded initially to the military coup d'etat which aimed at 'restoring law and

order' by opposing to it the organised force, and the spontaneous action, of the working people.

Against the rebel Army of their own country they responded with the greatest weapon in their armoury, social revolution. The combined force of feudalism and fascism hit back with the greatest force at their disposal - genocide. Because of the treachery of the Republic, which declined to defend itself and would not arm the working people who alone could prevent its overthrow, the rising of the Army, though checked, became a war. Faced with the reactionary elements within the Spanish Government (aided by the Communist Party and its foreign backers) the libertarian movement felt inclined to compromise in its social revolution by waging the civil war instead; soon it was too late to alter course, for the enemy was too vicious and to falter meant to die. But without doubt the libertarian movement was also betrayed by a leadership which manoeuvred its way to positions of authority and power under cover of the war.

In the absence of party discipline, anathema to the anarchist movement, it was possible for the 'well known' to rise to a leadership which sought participation in the Government on the grounds that only in this way could the civil war be fought. Thus the libertarian movement came to adopt at second hand the slogans and to some extent the mentality of the Popular Front in regard to 'democracy v. fascism'. At the outset it fought against fascism under social-revolutionary colours; it went down to its defeat under false democratic-capitalist ones.

Meanwhile, every single anarchist endeavour throughout Europe was concentrated on the Spanish struggle to the sacrifice of everything else. The Spanish Anarchists rejected the idea of an International Brigade (other than for refugees with nowhere else to go). They did not want to 'depopulate' the anarchist movement abroad. Every struggle that went on was to help the struggle in Spain and this altered the entire character of the militant anarchist movement throughout Europe.

# 1939-1945

During the Second World War, liberals and social-democrats (together with the Communists once the Nazi-Soviet Pact was broken by Hitler) pushed the idea of a 'holy war' against fascism, since the enemy happened to be fascist, and tried to bestow a democratic aura on the Allies. After a time, Allied propagandists themselves began to use some of the anti-fascist cliches, though with diplomatic caution until the powers concerned were actually in the war. Soon there grew up the popular myth that the only reason we went to war with Germany was because it was 'Nazi'.

Two major developments took place in the anarchist movement in Europe. The Spanish Anarchists, exiled in France and treated as second-class citizens or as prisoners of war by the French Republic, were the first to take up arms after the French defeat, as a resistance movement against fascism. This movement of revolutionary defeatism spread over the Pyrenees into Spain, as an urban guerrilla movement linking up with people like Capdevila and Massana who had been operating in the mountains as rural guerrillas without a break since the victory of Franco in 1939.

The other development was in Britain, where the anarchists took advantage of the remaining freedom of expression in a country where the working class was able to resist internal suppression, to attack imperialism in every way possible, a struggle which spread even inside the armed forces.

Both these movements reached their zenith and disappeared.

The failure of the soldiers' councils to link up with workers' councils in post-war Britain, and the resultant euphoria of a Labour Government with full power, meant the loss of any revolutionary impetus. Those attracted to the idea of anar-



chism, particularly within the armed forces, as a prospective force in the supposedly forthcoming post-war revolution, drifted away. But the anti-war attitude of the British anarchist movement had also meant that many of purely pacifist persuasion had been attracted to the libertarian camp, and this had the effect of diluting the class struggle, or rather the libertarian participation in it, and opened the way to the liberalism of the New Left.

In Spain, more particularly among the Spanish exiles, the libertarian movement was stuck with the position of the thirties. The exiled bureaucrats were entrenched in Toulouse, and found it easier to sit back and complain that the Allies had not sent their armies into Spain to achieve the revolution for them, than to associate with the guerrilla forces that had never laid down their arms. Unwilling to involve themselves in any action that would compromise their settled existence in France, or the legality of their Organisation, they created a wedge between what passed off as the CNT in exile, and the newly emerged post-war Resistance against Franco which much more truly represented the CNT. No longer could the 'exile' leaders judge this as part of the revolutionary struggle; they could only view matter from a social democratic standpoint and echo stale war-time propaganda.

Thus the anarchist movement emerged from World War 11 lumbered on the one hand with the dead wood of social-democratic pseudo-libertarianism still parading the theory of the 'just' war (as exemplified by the National Committee of the CNT in Toulouse) and this was well matched internationally by some other entrenched movements too lazy to move over to social-democracy, which retained of anarchism only the label, but monopolised international connections in Europe; and on the other hand with the liberal-pacifist cult and the idealisation of non-violence as action in itself which later came, through America, to influence a whole range of new cults throughout the world in which the criterion was neither freedom nor resistance nor class struggle but solely the degree of absence of violence.

This substituted the idea of 'personal liberation' under the

State for that of a free society, a purely liberal idea, and there were not so many differences between these two 'darker sides' of anarchism than appeared at first sight.

In many countries in Europe, therefore, Anarchism became once more a matter of small groups, some fighting on desperately as they did in Spain, some still retaining labour connections, as in Sweden, as well as of isolated individuals everywhere who carried on, against overwhelming odds, identified by small papers or bulletins or regular meetings, and trying to re-integrate into a new struggle.

Estimados compañeros:

Os suponemos informados sobre el desenlace de la acción realizada por nuestro grupo para desmascarar la farsa de la "liberalización" franquista y poner en evidencia a la legión su política de doble juego.

Después de volver a nuestras bases y de esperar un tiempo prudencial, para valorar las repercusiones de las exigencias por nosotros planteadas, nuevamente tenemos que movilizarnos para proseguir nuestra acción de hostigamiento a la Dictadura, por medio de la acción directa, para conseguir la libertad de todos los presos políticos y frustrar las maniobras de supervivencia del régimen.

En los momentos en que los directores de los diversos sectores del antifranquismo político se oponen a secundar las propuestas "revolutivas" de la reacción española, con la esperanza de situarse en el futuro (?) régimen posfranquista, el Movimiento Libertario Español no puede faltar a su compromiso histórico continuando a la vanguardia en la lucha contra el totalitarismo fascista.

Disponibles a proseguir nuestra acción... dirigimos un llamado urgente a todos los antifascistas, a todos cuantos sientan como suya la causa de la libertad del pueblo español, para que nos apoyen moral y materialmente en un esfuerzo extraordinario para continuar nuestro combate contra la dictadura franquista.

Confiamos en que no nos faltará ni el apoyo en estos momentos decisivos para el pueblo español y para nuestro Movimiento, ni curamos el saludo fraternal de la militería libertaria española.

España, 18 junio 1966.

El Grupo 12 de Mayo





# 1945-1960

With the rise of the new Left, and the collapse of Stalinism from its near-monopoly position among working class militants, there was a proliferation of Marxist groups. Some of these managed to ensure that there was carried over into a new generation, though purged of the Stalinist taint, the same mistakes of the Communist Party and the same subordination to political leadership, but even more than previously they substituted the cult of Nationalism for that of any form of socialism and thus managed to avoid the most important issue, class struggle. This nationalist cult, expressed in Marxist phraseology, has characterised the new Left ever since.

But despite the many struggle for national liberation which have over-clouded the issue since the 1950s, the real conflict has no longer been between state communism and fascism nor between democracy and fascism nor, as the propagandists now put it, between democracy and communism (or New Democracy and capitalism). It was between the rulers of the world with increasingly common interests and the people themselves. Because of this Anarchism has come to the fore once more, even though (ironically) just as in the thirties anarchist action was interpreted in the light of the clash between communism and fascism, now communist and nationalist (if not exactly fascist) action began to be interpreted by the media in the light of the essentially anarchist struggle against world imperialism and centralised government.

This rise in anarchist activism spread far beyond the influence of the small corps of anarchist activists who had to struggle from the grip of pacifist non-resistance on the one hand, and the non-resistance of the 'dominant figures' of the

Spanish libertarians in exile on the other, who tried to divert the struggle by appeals to the United Nations and invocations of old war-time slogans as well as cold war ones, in an attempt to find a 'diplomatic solution' that would enable them to regain their lost ministerial portfolios. For these people and others like them the 'justice' of the armed struggle against Franco ended, in effect, when it ceased to be legal, and from 1945 onwards the Resistance fought without their help, and often, against their wishes.

But as the Spanish activists found common cause with the new generation inside Spain, so did all the small anarchist groups throughout Europe find that they were no longer isolated and ageing groups of militants; on the contrary, while the anti-nuclear movement, based on pacifist techniques, brought in temporarily hundreds who appeared to be anarchists (but were basically liberals who found liberalism meaningless, yet who saw anarchism as merely a personal revolution, which is to say liberalism) yet of those some came right through to a revolutionary position and those who did became a majority in the movement, which overnight became completely rejuvenated and the more effective.

But as the revolutionary anarchist groups became effective, and came to integrate internationally, the Marxist movements became effective by disintegration. The Trotskyist movement broke into a dozen clearly defined sects; the pretext of 'Maoism' meant a large number of opposing doctrines, from the true 'Maoist' Stalinist anti-revisionism to the most ultra-revolutionary stands. Blanquism, though unacknowledged flourished more than it had ever done; Spartacism, and the ideas of council communism, were once more effective. The challenge to Moscow hegemony meant the proliferation of groups and theories, all part and parcel of the New Left.

Some of the new militants, encountering not the effective anarchist groups and thinking of them as the exception to the rule when they were in fact the rule itself, saw with distaste the 'retired militancy' of the bureaucratic relics or the non-resistance of the 'new' movement, and went their own way. Either they formed new anarchist groups not in touch



with the other revolutionary anarchist groups - and therefore tended sometimes to borrow slogans or package-deal attitudes from the rest of the new Left for want of having concretised their own philosophy - or they disclaimed the name altogether and preferred the more neutral 'libertarian', 'libertarian left' or even, in some countries, 'Maoist', though the Maoists explicitly disowned them, or 'Anarcho-Marxist'. Many of these groups, especially in Germany where the tradition of council-communism was strong, moved to a strongly libertarian position. Labelled 'anarchist' by the Press, they contained both Anarchists, sometimes using Marxist labels (later discarded) and New Left Marxists. This was the origin of such movements as the 'Red Army Fraction' whose development (later labelled 'Baader-Meinhoff Gang') terrified the German bourgeoisie but made apparent the class nature of German society and shattered the idyllic post-war German capitalist 'dream'.

In Spain, the urban guerrilla groups (Sabate and Faceries were already well known) sparked off a new wave of resistance in 1951 when a General Strike in Barcelona initiated a mass resistance movement following the passenger boycott of the tramway company in the city. Apart from building up sufficient capital to finance sabotage operations and 'attentats' against well known persons of the Franco regime, the aim of the libertarian action groups was to maintain a spirit of resistance to the government and in this they were successful for a time. But in spite of the intensity and heroism of their struggle, the Brigada Politico-Social (Special Branch) was able to carry out a policy of extermination against the libertarian movement in Spain. It co-operated with the 'democratic' police forces beyond the Pyrenees and the fact that the Spanish libertarian movement had worked closely with Allied Intelligence during the war left it in a position to be betrayed afterwards in the interests of 'stable' government. What was worse, perhaps, was the apathy and lack of solidarity from anti-Franco forces in general. The level of conflict came to a standstill for a time, activity being confined to more sporadic and individual attacks in industrial Catalonia.

During the repression militants of the CNT and activists of

the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) were murdered in the streets, or in their own homes, by the Spanish police. Hundreds of others received long prison sentences and a number are in prison to this very day. The libertarian movement had to reconsider its strategy in the light of the new repressive wave in Spain. Not only was it faced with the almost total disarticulation of the action groups of the interior, but, more discouraging still, the Franco Government was gaining by leaps and bounds in the fields of international diplomacy. In the years between 1951 and 1960 the Anarchist movement in Spain became more introverted and lethargic. It expended its energies, in exile, in a less physically dangerous but far more destructive way - engaging in polemics and mutual accusation of incompetence thrown across the Congress Halls and meeting places of the numerous committees of exile.

During this period, the 'nuclear disarmament' movement was attracting large numbers to the New Left and beyond it, to an anarchist position. The new activists had already shown their willingness to participate in the struggle. The ball was at the feet of the anarchist movement, but the revolutionary anarchist movement was too scattered and isolated to be able to kick it, and did not always appreciate what potentialities lay before it.





# 1960 - 1966

On January fifth, 1960, Francisco Sabate (el Quico, sometimes wrongly described as Sabater) one of the most tenacious and best known of the libertarian activists, was killed in the village of San Celoni (near Barcelona) following a gun battle with over 100 Guardia Civil the previous day, when four comrades from his group had been ambushed and killed in a Pyrenean farmhouse. Sabate, though badly wounded, managed to escape and make his way to San Celoni by hi-jacking a train, but he was recognised and brought down by the crossfire of a police patrol.

The death of this man, who symbolised for many the whole of the Spanish Resistance, helped to inspire the formation of the new resistance groups, and also helped to re-unite the scattered forms of revolutionary anarchist activism, who now realised that they must break decisively from the non-resistance wings and align themselves internationally with other revolutionary activists. The Spanish resisters in the interior realised that they could not rely on the Toulouse faction whose sole purpose was to divide them from their real allies, the international anarchist movement. Sabate's death thus marked the end of an era of introspection and apathy, and the beginning of a new internationally co-ordinated revolutionary activist struggle against imperialism in all its manifestations.

The reluctance of revolutionary anarchism to cut itself off from totally ossified groupings or those who, using the label 'anarchist' had no longer any libertarian or revolutionary interests, may seem curious to the outsider; but was born a long tradition within the anarchist movement to accept anyone as an anarchist who happened to call himself one

(something long since impossible for socialists, or Marxists), and in the absence of a party organisation, this acceptance alone defined an anarchist movement. But it was always a dangerous tradition (it meant that someone well known for being an anarchist, though having no longer any connection with the movement, could 'speak' for something of which he was not a spokesman, one disastrous example being Peter Kropotkin, a member of no anarchist organisation at the time, apologising for World War I and causing as much harm to the revolutionary movement as if he had indeed been its delegate).

The death of Sabate, however, which was heralded in the Spanish press as the end of Spanish Anarchism, and which provoked the usual hypocritical disclaimers from Toulouse, meant that the Spanish movement of the interior decisively broke from Toulouse. Though still using the name 'CNT' to denote the type of union organisation which they wished to build up, it was clearly understood that they were not referring to the Organisation in Exile (MLE) but did not wish to confuse the workers as a whole. (And they also clung to the wish not to appear to be 'schismatic'.) However, within one month of Sabate's death the Revolutionary Directorate of Iberian Liberation (DRIL) announced its existence, and immediately obtained support from this anarchist movement of the Spanish interior as well as of other groupings. It made a number of daring attacks on the dictatorships of both Spain and Portugal, such as the hi-jacking by a commando of Spanish and Portuguese and South American fighters on the liner Santa Maria on the high seas on January 21st 1961. The possibilities of a two-fold struggle opened up once more - the vanguard of workers' councils, now being established by the anarchist movement of the interior - (FOI - Federacion Obrera Iberica, Workers Iberian Federation - the 'internal' name of the groupings 'pro CNT') and this rear-guard of armed fighters who used such action where they could strike best.

Faced with this 'problem' the CNT in exile tried to reunify in 1961, giving up the attempts to reconcile revolutionary resistance with futile moves to find a 'diplomatic solution' to



something which international capitalism and world diplomacy had solved to its own satisfaction. But it was now too late, and finally the organisation was doomed to sink into sterility, with counter-excommunications of the old guard of the bureaucracy.

Elsewhere in the world were the still somewhat isolated 'sectarian' groups of anarchist revolutionaries; the expanding movement that was coming via the nuclear disarmament movement, and the 'anarcho-Marxist' movements growing up quite independently, moving from Marxism but bringing many Marxist attitudes, especially those of 'third world' nationalism, with them.

Yet the coming together of the first of these sections with the Spanish activists soon surprised the world, since it apparently seemed that international anarchist activity had emerged from the blue like the kraken waking after years of sleep. Moreover, although the international activists had no connections with, and usually a strong dislike for, the 'hippy' and 'new left', nevertheless the latter did afford them a pool in which to swim. Their ideas were able to be heard for the first time by a larger audience.

Sympathy for their actions had never been lacking by a very much wider section of the public than the press ever imagined, and press distortions and hysteria notwithstanding, there was a deep underlying support for anarchist ideas in working class circles and among people of all generations. All this led to the setting up of a secret organisation the DI (Internal Defence) which brought together comrades with years of activity in every part of the world to co-ordinate their clandestine activities against tyranny - in the early spring of 1962 and within a few months surprised the world by the apparently sudden re-emergence of international revolutionary anarchist activity after years of ignorance of its existence.

But only when the 'near miss' on Franco's life at San Sebastian (August 1962) took place did the international collaboration come to general notice, partly because this had also the effect of making an inroad by the libertarian movement on the Basque country. For long Basque national-

ism had been reactionary, nationalist and clerical. Now it was as discredited as most of the inactive movements of the Republic in exile. The ETA was the new, dynamic Basque movement, and while it was to some extent nationalistic, it also contained many who were not, and could embrace nationalists, marxists, catholics and libertarians in a common struggle against Franco. As a result of the terror against the Basques, Franco had succeeded in uniting almost the whole Basque country against him, irrespective of whether it had nationalist aspirations or not. It also signalled a new wave of repression which swept Spain directed particularly against the miners of the Asturian coalfields and the libertarian activists. Feeling itself endangered by the rise in revolutionary consciousness and activity the Franco Government returned to the use of terror perfected in the years immediately following the Civil War.

Now, however, international action, concerted for the first time, was able to answer the repression within Spain. The Councils of War sent thirty libertarians to prison with savage sentences, and for one of them the State Prosecutor demanded the death penalty. Support for Jorge Cunill Vals, the young anarchist sentenced to death, grew throughout the world, and in Milan the Spanish Vice-Consul was kidnapped by Italian anarchists (on September 29, 1962). Cardinal Montini (now Pope) intervened on behalf of the condemned Catalan Anarchist, and the rebuff he received has caused the tension which exists between the Vatican and the Prado to this day (and is why the Church is now backing more than one side in the fight for the succession). On this occasion, however, Franco had to stay his hand and remit the sentence.

The following year Julian Grimau and the anarchists Delgado and Granados were sentenced to death but protests against the executions were so widespread that Franco's hopes of admission into the Common Market were totally frustrated. Governments of the Western World were unable to flagrantly go against what were widespread sentiments by admitting Franco (the Governments of Eastern Europe had, of course, no such inhibitions, and could do trade deals when-



ever they wished without regard for public opinion which did not exist in their countries). However, without admitting it to the general public, and sometimes illegally, the police of Western Europe were working in close association with Franco though it was not until ten years afterwards that this was generally admitted. This police activity was excused in France by the fact that, as Franco had clamped down on the French OAS operating against De Gaulle from Madrid, they should clamp down on the Spanish Anarchists in France operating against General Franco (though it was often politically inexpedient for police who had collaborated with the Nazis to clamp down openly on libertarians who had been to the forefront of the Resistance). In England no excuse existed, and in fact the issue of Gibraltar meant that Special Branch was in fact acting against British imperial interests by its assistance to Franco whose staged demonstrations for Gibraltar were solely destined to deflect public attention from the Resistance criticisms of his regime. Nevertheless, Scotland Yard was able to supply 'secret information to a foreign power' feeling that in time (as it did) government opinion would see that police interests against revolution were higher than such narrow nationalistic interests.

It was therefore possible for concerted police action to be taken against French, Italian and British anarchists working in conjunction with the revolutionary youth movement in Spain, demonstrating the international nature both of Anarchism and the Police. This led to the arrest of Scottish anarchist Stuart Christie in Spain, where he was taking part in an attempt to assassinate the dictator. World opinion was directed to Spanish prisons and in particular the material support which he began to receive was diverted by him to libertarian prisoners in general. For a long time the Communist Party had, under a variety of anti-fascist and democratic sounding names, been collecting aid for Spanish prisoners from all; but giving only to their 'own' - thus other prisoners came to be forgotten, with a corresponding dampener upon the resistance movement. The anarchists not only had been receiving the longest sentences and been the subject of the

bitterest persecution, but the communists, who engaged only in propaganda activities extolling the glories of Russia, and advocating an alliance with the Christian-Democrats against American bases in Spain, were the only ones to receive aid in jail. Now at last that situation was reversed, irrevocably, a direct consequence of Christie's arrest. His arrest, and that of other 'foreigners', also helped to cement the international alliance that finally broke down the barrier that had been erected by the ossified and non-resistant wings of the movement.

In 1965 the Libertarian Youth Movement broke completely and finally with the main anarchist and confederal organisations in exile. The reason for this was the refusal by the National Committee of the CNT to implement the decisions agreed on in 1961 to renew the clandestine armed struggle against the Franco regime. This unwillingness to act may have been due to tiredness, fear or perhaps not wishing to compromise the steady comfortable existence they were leading in exile. However, with the break finalised the revolutionary anarchist activist movement was now able to break free from the fetters which had bound it for so long - its association with the movement in exile.





# Grupo 1º de Mayo

At the end of April 1966 Mgr. Marcos Ussia, the ecclesiastical adviser to the Spanish Embassy in the Vatican, disappeared mysteriously while returning from the Embassy to his home in the suburbs of Rome. A few days later the First of May group announced its existence in Rome, while CNT militant Luis Andres Edo, in Madrid, announced simultaneously to the world press that Ussia had been kidnapped to draw attention to the plight of Franco's prisoners. The results of this action by the revolutionary anarchist movement became an issue of international importance and a central point of discussion in the Italian, French, Swiss, Spanish and Swedish press (the British press avoided it, perhaps for fear of imitative action). When the priest was released unharmed after fifteen days of intensive and fruitless searches by Italian, Swiss, and French police, it proved the efficiency of international anarchist solidarity, and disproved the 'terrorist' label put on them by Interpol.

Later, Edo was arrested in Madrid with four other comrades (men and women) accused of preparing to kidnap a high-ranking military officer in the American Army who was based there. Once again the anarchists had brought together in an international struggle the old fight against Franco and the struggle against American imperialism. Now they were regrouped under the old banners of the 'First of May', embodying the traditions of libertarian activism during eighty years of class struggle against capitalism. The struggle for workers' councils and direct workers' control, in opposition to slogans of nationalism, nationalisation and reform, had always been associated with the First of May Movement. Now that struggle was backed up by sharp, decisive actions against

particular forms of class repression.

Though the 'counter-culture' and 'alternative society' coming from the youth revolution in America had really nothing to do with revolutionary anarchism, yet it contained within itself strongly revolutionary elements and the anarchist movement became transformed, as gradually new and old revolutionaries united together finding their own level. This was impelled further by the Vietnam War and its world-wide consequences of protest movements, and the rise of such groups as the Weathermen in the United States which greatly influenced the 'alternative society' movement in Europe, and especially in Greece and Turkey, where for the first time in fifty years a libertarian movement arose among the youth, divided between Anarchists and Marxist-Leninists, but struggling against the despotic regimes of those countries up to a point where the regime in Turkey was obliged to maintain a sort of permanent civil war against young workers and students, and that in Greece to use all the methods of Nazi rule learned by the police during the war.

In many countries, the growth of the vaguely 'libertarian left' inclined towards Blanquism, or perhaps anarchism, with Marxist phraseology, continued - though as orthodox Maoist movements rose, the movement was impelled away from its 'Maoist' inclinations. This movement took a strong part in the fight for civil rights and for workers control, and against the tyranny of the State. To the press, inevitably far more uninformed than the public it presumed to serve, all this was the 'anarchist movement', and the revolutionary activist wing at that; a supposition encouraged by Tory propaganda which sought to present the anarchists as 'bogeymen' just as the Left, for that matter, tried to use the fascists for the same purpose.

In 1967 and 1968 revolutionary activism showed its hand again. Attacks were made on the offices of American civil and military centres throughout Europe and on the embassies of the Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Bolivian and Uruguayan Governments (among others). Following these simultaneous actions in Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland and



Italy, the First of May Group and the International Solidarity Movement issued a manifesto calling on all revolutionaries to practice an effective solidarity with all victims of the class struggle. The struggle began again in Turkey, with the formation of cells composed of both Anarchists and Marxists in a struggle against the military dictatorship. *L'Express* (Parisian weekly) foresaw that 'Anarchists will prepare a hot summer' and reported in March 1968 on the activities of what they described as 'extreme left wing organisations in Europe', prepared by their German and Dutch correspondents. The situationist movement, and the provo movement in Holland, were linked together with the libertarian left and the Anarchist revolutionary activists. And indeed, two months later, anarchism reappeared once more as the dynamic force it is.

The events of Paris - with the participation in it by Anarchists, Maoists, Trotskyists, Situationists and others - are well known. And the First of May Group began attacks on Iberia Airlines in defence of Spanish political prisoners. Concerted attacks affirmed international solidarity with them. While the International Solidarity Movement both directly and indirectly helped the appearance of more active groups in France, Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Turkey and Greece. Groups which more or less independently continued the activist struggle in their own country against the steady progression of the State towards dictatorship, while stepping into other countries to help that struggle attain greater intensity. There were numerous acts in all these countries, those in Britain including a bomb attack on the Home Secretary's house on the day of national protest against the Industrial Relations Bill; an attack on a Minister who had defended the idea of bourgeois attacks upon strikers during the electricity dispute, attacks on Ford's and on the mechanised dossiers of Scotland Yard at Tintagel House, on the Italian, Spanish and American embassies, on recruiting offices and military barracks on Spanish banks, and on Government buildings, some of which incidents were labelled as (and all labelled by the police as) coming from the Angry Brigade, though this was not a specific organisation, but a manifestation of revolutionary

activism through a wide circle of the libertarian movement generally.

The existence of the Anarchist activist groups encouraged a wide section of the revolutionary left, not explicitly anarchist but certainly libertarian, to step up the struggle and shake themselves free of the non-resistance elements. Though all such revolutionary attempts have been particularly scrupulous in their respect for human life during the whole of the decade, and have avoided innocent victims entirely, the campaign of repression against the libertarian movement has (outside Spain) been unequalled since the days of Nazism. The activities of Nationalist groups, with which they have nothing in common, and which by their nature could not be so scrupulous, have been maliciously ascribed to them.

This has been the case in Italy, Germany, Turkey and Greece and even in Great Britain where forms of restraint over the police are believed to exist.

The Anarchist Black Cross, as offering a legitimate means of expression for the anarchist revolutionary activists, has been particularly the object of attack. In Milan, Giuseppe Pinelli, militant anarchist, ex-member of the wartime Resistance and secretary of the Italian ABC, was arrested following a Fascist bomb in Milan and thrown from a police station window during interrogation; in Germany, a policy of extermination carried out by the German police against the Red Army Fraction, composed of Marxists and 'Anarcho-Marxists', was extended to shoot down in the street members of the Black Cross, including Georg von Rauch and Thomas Weisbecker. Then Stuart Christie, secretary and co-founder, was arrested in London charged with the activities of the Angry Brigade together with a number of comrades, men and women, who represented a wide section of the libertarian left and a wide variety of interests (all being described by press and prosecution as Anarchists, though this only applied to some). This led to the longest and most costly trial in recent judicial history in England, ending in ten years each for four of the accused, with four being acquitted (and preceded by 15 years under another, but notoriously reactionary judge, and

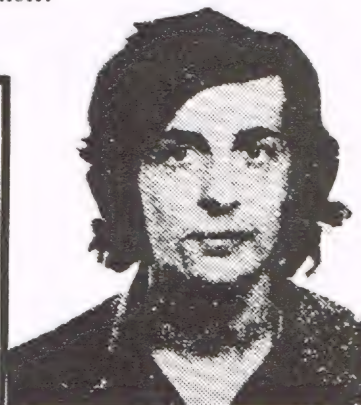
an acquittal).

In Scotland, savage sentences were passed on members of the Scottish Workers Party, a Maoist organisation. These examples are only the more spectacular testimonies of bourgeois, social democratic and fascist repression against revolutionary anarchist, libertarian activism and revolutionary forms of Marxism too, but such persecution has not and will not achieve its object because the idea of international solidarity is growing by leaps and bounds. Even in Turkey, where the most obscene forms of torture are being used against the young revolutionaries, and in Spain, where torture and death are commonplace, the idea of workers councils and the affirmation that the fight for the occupation of the places of work will be backed by activist groups continues to flourish.

The struggle is not on the other side of the world. It exists in the countries dominated by State capitalism and State Communism as well as in the capitalist and fascist countries. It is not only in the 'third world' or the undeveloped part of the world. The call for revolution has gone through Europe. Never again will it lie down before the attacks of fascists, vigilantes or secret police. It is not even confined to one revolutionary ideology. It is not a conspiracy. It is a movement that may prove to be irresistible.



Salvador Puig Antich  
Murdered  
Dawn  
March 2 1974  
by  
the agents of  
Francisco Franco Bahamonde  
Caudillo of Spain  
Non OMNIS MORIAR





# Some Documents

## To All Revolutionary Movements and Organisations in the World

The '1st of May Group' has, for several years now, come to support, in practice, the necessity of carrying out the struggle against dictatorship by means of revolutionary violence, as the only possible way of answering the repressive violence of the regime of General Franco and of reconquering freedom for the Spanish people in accordance with the strategy drawn up by the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (FIJL).

Being aware of the backing given to various dictatorships and national oligarchies, by reactionary imperialist governments which enables them to maintain their oppression of the people - we address ourselves to revolutionary movements throughout the world who fight for the freedom and independence of all people. Fully convinced, also, of the sterility of the so-called 'legal and pacifist' struggles, as a means of ending the oppression and forcing Imperialism and its lackeys to end warlike aggression and military interventions, we have come to the following conclusions—

1. We believe that the present struggles for freedom (eg. the revolutionary struggles of the guerrillas in Latin America, the blacks in the United States) have provoked a crisis of conscience, and forced a reaction against the reformist line, from authentic revolutionaries of various brands - these have finally understood that the only sure and dignified way to make Imperialism and its lackeys retreat, and clear the path to Revolution, is an armed struggle against the forces of fascist oppression (the main props of capitalist society and Imperialism).
2. We believe that the serious divergencies and divisions exist-

ing between various revolutionary movements, in each country are the result of absurd and negative ideological sectarianism (with which, until now, the different revolutionary ideologies have expressed and applied themselves) and have contributed to the division of the international proletariat and facilitated the increasing depoliticisation of the masses who cannot logically be attracted by a revolutionary praxis divided by contradictions and confrontations resulting from anti-revolutionary dogmatism which have been the cause of all revolutionary schisms and ideological internecine quarrels.

3. Together with the Latin American groupings and their most well known exponents, we believe that 'the Revolution' is not the inheritance of any single Party, but of all who decide to fight for it with guns in their hands, that the struggle against oppression, and for the freedom of the people, theoretically and historically belongs to, and is assumed by, the people and classes who suffer the oppression and decide to fight against it. Parties and ideologies are only transitory tactical instruments - particularly interpretations of this struggle, whose object is the Revolution - and they must therefore be subordinated to the true essence of social history.

4. We believe that international revolutionary solidarity will only be effective between those movements which do not maintain contact, nor involve themselves in compromises, with Imperialism, and who do not give support to the politics of 'peaceful co-existence' which enable Imperialism to carry out its massacres and spoliations with impunity which will continue as long as there is no coherent response to military interventions whose purpose is to stifle fights for freedom, and revolutionary outbreaks throughout the world.

5. We believe that the real revolutionary objective is the achievement of freedom for the masses and for each individual, and that neither private capitalism nor state capitalism can be conducive to the freedom of man nor to an authentic free society. Private capitalism pretends to give freedom while maintaining the exploitation of man by man - state capitalism pretends to end exploitation by suppressing freedom; each of them has their roots in economic and political alienation

and therefore cannot even offer the hope of gradual evolution towards liberation. For the authentic revolutionary the achievement of freedom and the ending of exploitation are inseparable and complimentary aspirations.

6. We believe that all revolutionaries who truly wish to see the Revolution triumph must, and can, admit the unavoidable necessity of an ideological restatement which will resolve more effectively the problems of freedom and social justice - in other words: means and ends, tactics and objectives, revolutionary strategy and the ethic of revolution - in order to end the damaging differences and doctrinal antagonisms which have hindered until now the union of all revolutionaries against the common enemy. The important thing is that they should now recognise that Imperialism and capitalism, of any variety, are the real enemies, and revolutionaries can only confront them by uniting their forces, or at least to support each other by effective revolutionary solidarity, national and international, thus preventing the enemy from taking advantage of everlasting contradictions and divisions.

7. We believe that the time has come for revolutionaries to put aside their ideological divergencies, sectarianisms and various 'objective conditions' of constitution and location - all revolutionary movements should unite and co-ordinate their efforts through a vast Movement of Revolutionary Solidarity in order to oppose coherently imperialist aggression and the cronies of dictatorship, and to back with deeds the revolutionary struggles of the people and so make the way to revolution secure. We can testify to this Revolutionary Solidarity by—

acts of propaganda and solidarity in favour of all peoples who are fighting against fascism and imperialism;

acts of violence against the diplomatic and military corps, imperialism and dictatorships, as effective reprisals against their outrages.



REVOLUTIONARIES OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE FOR  
AN EFFECTIVE REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY TO  
PREVENT THE EXTERMINATION OF THOSE WHO  
FIGHT FOR THE REVOLUTION IN ANY PART OF THE  
WORLD!

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY  
SOLIDARITY!

August 1967

1st of May Group/FIJL (Iberian Federation of Libertarian  
Youth)



Octavio Alberola Surinach, liaison secretary between the Peninsula  
Committee of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (F.I.J.L.)  
and the Exterior Delegation.

# Anarchist International

## Towards the Creation of an Anarchist International

On the basis of our recent experiences, and an analysis derived from our particular situation as anarchists (organised or not) within the international politico-social context, we have arrived at the following conclusions which we consider both useful and necessary to be put before all militants who believe it still possible to adopt an efficient revolutionary position.

1. The modern states (totalitarian or democratic), private and state capitalism, all variations of political and religious ideology, trade-unionism (whether reformist or state-run), in general, all social groups which are part of the present productive society, have established, as a fact, a co-existence that tends, at any cost, to ensure the present status quo for all forms of privilege, exploitation and authority.

More and more the fundamental contradictions of the system (or the different systems and societies, as well as those between the different races and nationalities) tend to intensify (but not resolve) themselves through negotiations and compromises which do not imperil the survival of the system (or systems) as such, nor of the groups, castes or classes that at present enjoy privileged positions. From this stems the prevailing political confusion and moral degradation, the repugnant dealing between regimes pretending to irreconcilable enmity (Russian and the USA, Cuba and Spain, China and Portugal) the 'peoples' democracies and the capitalist democracies, etc.

The old ruling castes and the new bureaucratic castes, whatever their colour, race, or religion, have lost their former

prejudices and hidden scruples. Today within international organisations and through official exchanges they hobnob and entertain one another on the backs of the common people who sustain them, and are subjected to them. And within this mesh of agreements and interests we must also place the well-integrated 'leadership' and trade-union bureaucratic caste.

2. From this it follows that, today, doctrinal declarations and re-affirmations of ideological principles have no meaning beyond demagoguery - a habit that clings. One no longer fights for democracy, socialism, communism, or revolution, but merely for the recognition of the defeat of power, by this or that group, in a particular place, and for 'national independence' (the certificate of guarantee which covers and justifies all types of despotism) and in order to forget the debts owing to international revolutionary solidarity. So, in Vietnam, Korea, Hungary and Cuba, after the triumph of one or another gang, one no longer fights for or against 'communism' but simply in order to guarantee 'national independence', the Geneva agreements, the UNO agreements, territorial integrity and the survival of the government of Saigon or Hanoi, Tel Aviv or Cairo. In the meantime, Barrientos and the Latin American oligarchies, assisted by American 'Green Berets', smash revolutionary guerrillas and assassinate Che Guevara, and the USSR and the 'Peoples' Democracies' continue to do business, maintain diplomatic relations and extend credit to these same governments that the Marxist revolutionaries of Latin America are fighting against.

Throughout the world one finds the same ugly wheeling and dealing. Soviet commercial, cultural, and sports missions confer with their counterparts in Franco's Spain; and throughout the Vietnamese tragedy American and Maoist diplomats in Warsaw maintain relations. The decolonisation of the Asiatic and black peoples proceeds, but only to allow the indigenous bourgeoisie to take power extensively assisted by Russia and/or the USA.

In practice ideology is shelved, becoming no more than a function of patriotism, 'national independence', 'legality', 'public order', 'peace', and 'development' - and as it is in the



East, so it is in the West.

All over the world parties and organisations witness their own sacrifice of ideology to the simple struggle for power.

3. Unfortunately this phenomenon of the abandonment of ideological coherence has also invaded international anarchist circles, which did not know how to resist or fight against the process of revolutionary demobilisation.

For anarchism, organisational or not, revolutionary demobilisation, this rupture between ideological conception and its practical outcome is of great importance, considering that anarchism does not aspire to the conquest of political or economic power. If it abandons its only possible vocation: its combativeness in the struggle for revolution, if it is content to reminisce about the past or to vegetate into bureaucracy, it will lack a final objective and, as it lacks mystical roots, it could not survive as a sect - it would be of no practical use to any social grouping be their needs material or spiritual.

If anarchism is to exist in reality, it is to draw the people and justify itself as a practical revolutionary ideology without being demagogic, it must not only re-affirm its anti-statism as a determining condition for the triumph of freedom, but must accompany this criticism of authoritarianism with the practice of permanent rebellion; without this it is useless except as a means of ridiculing and contributing a little more to the extension of the present confusion, pointing out the dangers, contradictions and damaging results of authoritarian society. But it is all useless if we content ourselves with vegetating as others do. It is obvious that the persecution of dissidents, the fighting of real or imaginary deviations, will not save us from a collective decadence if we do not react beforehand against the reigning apathy, stagnation, routine, and revolutionary demobilisation of the whole, whether as individuals, groups, or movements.

4. However, as we have said before - the fundamental contradictions of capitalist and 'socialist' society continue to flourish, and in many cases their consequences are even more serious than before; the integration of workers into capitalist society,

and the growth of 'consumer' society have lulled the proletariat. However, the class struggle has not disappeared, nor the inevitable confrontations through which each class defends its sectional interests. Neither has 'peaceful co-existence' stopped armed conflicts, it has only limited them geographically - Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa .....

Racial discrimination, the exploitation of the working masses, the abuses of the ruling classes, the absence of essential freedoms (of thought, expression and assembly), political crimes and resulting repression and terror are common currency in our civilised world. In Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal, the Greece of the 'Colonels', as in the Soviet Union and the 'Peoples' Democracies', workers and even liberal academics are condemned when they protest or attempt to exercise their freedom of assembly. And in the United States the blacks rebel against racial discrimination, while in China there is a brutal confounding of the will of the masses with the deification of Maoism.

So, for anarchists throughout the world there is no lack of motives for action, nor of practical possibilities to declare their presence and to show the way.

In Europe, either hypocritically indifferent or accessory to crimes committed within its borders (Spain, Greece, Portugal), and in other continents dominated by economic and political imperialism, there exist many possibilities of demonstrating through these obvious examples where reason, justice and freedom lie without having to play at suicide, gratuitous heroism or compulsive activism. But simply and modestly, aware of the risks that go with such an attitude it is possible to keep the rebel conscience alive and to mobilise, by means of concrete action, all revolutionary agitations that manifest themselves throughout the world, transcending the absurd dogmatisms and tracing a way of effective rebellion before the collective submission of the supposedly revolutionary parties and organisations.

5. To summarise: we think that the time has come to define and set in motion a line of action that will be consistent with

the revolutionary ethic and realisable in practice; such as a form of organisation that, avoiding the ominous consequences of bureaucracy, takes into account our numbers and real possibilities while being capable of projecting the anarchist presence effectively, if modestly, in the international politico-social context. We must take advantage of all the opportunities of the historic moment, and in particular of the crisis in Marxism in whose heart has arisen the inescapable problem of direct action and revolutionary solidarity. We do not believe in miraculous solutions, nor in the mere educative value of example - we believe in the effectiveness of action when it responds to certain conditions which give it meaning, and a consistent ideological and tactical line.

We have arrived at these conclusions after a number of experiences which have demonstrated to us that, in spite of the fact that we are a minority practically without means, we can make our presence felt, gain sympathy, and be taken into consideration by international public opinion.

So, our objective is not only to present conclusions drawn from our own experience, but rather to offer our solidarity and collaboration to all those who believe in the possibility of working effectively towards rebellion and international solidarity.

Consequently we sum up our position in the following way:

FIRSTLY: Complete identification with the anti-authoritarian concept of anarchism and its classic revolutionary line;

SECONDLY: Complete rejection of ideological dogmatism and sectarianism, as we consider these phenomena incompatible with anarchist ethics;

THIRDLY: Complete respect for opinions and discussions as far as the activity of each group, individual or movement is concerned;

FOURTHLY: To be totally prepared to collaborate with groups, individuals or movements with whom one has affinity, and similarly with all those who claim to follow a revolutionary ideology and who would be prepared to fight sectarian-



ism and elitism as well as the injustices imposed by any species of ideology.

FIFTHLY: Complete identification with the essentials of the manifesto, 'TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD' (distributed by the 1st of May Group after the attack on the American Embassy in London) as a general strategic line as long as the present politico-social conditions persist throughout the world.

10th March 1968

1st of May Group



Giuseppe Pinelli, 41 year old railwayman, anarchist partisan 1943/45, founder member of anarchist group "Ponte della Ghisolfi" (Milan) and Milan organiser Anarchist Black Cross – murdered by Italian Special Branch 16 December, 1969.

# And now...what?

The 'end' of the war in Vietnam corresponds to the end of a period of international politics of the great powers which, during these last thirty years, has governed the destiny of the world. Beyond these apparent and immediate consequences ('end' of the most flagrant technological genocide and the practical affirmation of the principle of 'pacific co-existence' between opposing political regimes) it has its probable consequences for the future which are disturbing; the consolidation of the domination of the State under all its forms and in all the four corners of the world; entente cordiale between all the powers to ensure the status quo of Power and Privilege; extension of technological rationality over all the planet, with the consequent assertion of submission by alienating work and the 'advantage' of the consumer society; intensive and maximum development of the structures of authoritarian society, round the two poles of its ideological dynamic; fascism and Stalinism.

## **Western Society, the Third World & the Others!**

In the frenzied race towards industrialisation which was established as the leitmotif of contemporary history of all peoples and of all systems, Western society has attained sufficiently high levels to render possible a radical change in the social politics of the different governments which composes it. Nevertheless, in the name of 'international competition' and of 'national independence' the order of priority continues to be ruled by the economic and not by the social. And only in the case of movements demanding better wages and conditions, being able to overflow the limits of legality, and to continue their action beyond that which the system can tolerate, only then are certain reforms allowed and limited improvements

made. But always with deliberate intention of ensuring the integration into the system of the exploited masses, of ensuring the continuance of the established order and of facilitating economic expansion. All to the detriment of the true humanisation of individual and collective life, of true democracy and true communism.

In the countries of the Third World, industrialisation is also changed into a supreme political objective. Despite the revolutionary assertions of the principal movements of 'national independence' and 'liberation', which in their time woke great hopes in the heart of the organised working class in Europe, the Third World (leaning, precisely on the submission of the masses to demagogic nationalism) turned to follow the path of Western Capitalist development. And, more and more, having resolved or not its ethical and religious contradictions, its integration with the other Western nations became an incontestable and irreversible fact.

The others, were, in their time, Mao's China, North Vietnam and Castro's Cuba. But we have seen what economic reasoning, the strategy of dissuasion and the international collaboration with Johnson and Nixon have been able to do in these revolutionary ramparts.

### **Revolutionary Groupuscles**

Faced with this harmony of the different authoritarian systems, and although the leftist groupuscles, the most 'politicised' did not renounce their well known slogans (to change the quality of life, society and man) nor their pretension to be the revolutionary vanguard, they retreated towards more modest, less radical, and more integrated positions. Thus perhaps without wanting it, those who considered themselves the most legitimate heirs of the whole international movement of the youth revolt, have helped in the absorption by the system of a movement which aspired to be inabsorbable. Just as repression equally lost its virulence, these groupuscles imposed a self-discipline (not to yield to 'provocation') that made them more and more respectful of legality up to the point of being happy to be the 'extreme left' of the classic left integrated by the



whole range of reformist unions and parties of communist, socialist, or simply democratic persuasion..... Thus, although they continue to be called revolutionary, they have equally ceased to be, practically and potentially, the negation of the authoritarian order. Only the marginal groupuscules who have not renounced the revolutionary *raison d'être* now remain as the authentic representatives of the ideal of the negation of authority; a *raison d'être* which consisted, as had been affirmed in an exemplary fashion in May '68, of living the revolution at the present moment, and it is only they who continue to fight the system, in radicalising the struggles in different sectors of society, which the other groupuscules, parties and organisations persist in keeping within the bounds of legality.

#### Objectives

The Leninist conception of revolution has ceased to be a possible alternative thus giving to anarchist ideas a growing prominence and significance. In the factories, in the neighbourhoods, in the universities and in everyday life, revolutionary activism can find a thousand and one justifications and an equal number of ways of showing itself. Capitalist exploitation and State oppression are still, and much more than before, the essence and everyday reality of all the authoritarian systems with their inevitable string of injustices and endless outrages, of violence and repressive barbarity, of moral misery and cultural alienation. The objectives are still revolt and liberation, in order that man can aspire and attain his most complete realisation. And, immediately, the denunciation and awakening of public opinion to the most flagrant abuses and outrages against the 'rights of man' in no matter what country of the world; in opposing the **repressive solidarity of the States** by the **solidarity of the oppressed**.

#### Appeal

Faced with the revolutionary demobilisation of all the sectors and States which once invoked the revolution as the supreme ideal and objective; faced with the concerted efforts of the

powerful to strengthen the very foundations which renders possible and maintains their privileges, faced with the assertion of the authoritarian principles of society, in the East as in the West, to the detriment of the independence of the people and of civil liberties, we ask the revolutionary unification and mobilisation of all those who do not wish to abdicate their human dignity, of all those who refuse to live in alienation and to serve as a support for the powers that be.

We suggest to all those who have surmounted the poisonous ideological sectarianisms and who have renounced the chimera of the legal struggle, to unit their efforts with ours to foment the revolutionary activism in all its forms, finally in arousing public opinion to the struggles of peoples, minorities and individuals victimised by the oppression and repression of the State based on the premises stated in our documents prior to May 1968.

May 1st 1973

1st of May Group  
International Revolutionary Solidarity  
Movement





The three comrades were taken to different police stations and beaten up for thirty hours, and then forced to sign statements which were dictated to them by police. Their solicitors demanded an immediate medical examination, but these were refused. Now all three comrades face charges which carry the death sentence.

We ask all comrades and sympathisers to demonstrate their solidarity with Noel, Marie and Ronan, and defend them from the worst excesses of the State terrorists in Dublin. We ask for full support for representations to be made to the Irish Government. Especially from the pro-Republican lobby which has in this instance a chance to put its own house in order.

Noel Murray and Ronan Stenson await trial in the Curragh Military Detention Centre, Co. Kildare, Eire (along with Des Keane, Bob Cullen and Columba Longmore, under sentence). Marie Murray (McPhilips) is being held in Limerick Prison, Eire.

Letters, postcards, magazines, books etc., will be eagerly accepted and should be sent to them at the above addresses.

**OTHER ANARCHIST TITLES AVAILABLE FROM  
CIENFUEGOS PRESS & SIMIAN PUBLICATIONS INCLUDE:**

**SABATE: GUERRILLA EXTRAORDINARY**, Antonio Tellez (with an introduction by Octavio Alberola), photographs, 192pp, cover illustration by Flavio Costantini £2.35.

**MAN! An anthology of Anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries**, edited by Marcus Graham, woodcuts, photographs, 670pp, £3.25.

**THE ART OF ANARCHY**, Flavio Costantini, 52pp, 43 h/tones anarchist prints, 3 colour laminated h/b, 25cm x 25cm, £3.00.

**Pamphlets:**

**A CRITICISM OF STATE SOCIALISM**, Michael Bakunin, 15p

**GOD AND THE STATE**, Michael Bakunin, 35p

**POWER & LIBERTY**, Tolstoy, 15p

**WHAT IS THE CNT?** Jose Peirats, 15p

**ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA**, Internationalist (A. Meltzer), 15p

**THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT**, A chapter of the revolutionary movement in Germany, Icarus (Ernst Schneider), 45p

**PETER KROPOTKIN : HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS**, Camillo Berneri, 30p

For a full and up to date account of books and pamphlets on anarchism read **THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW OF ANARCHIST LITERATURE, 1976** (30p + 10p p&p). For news of the international anarchist movement, articles on anarchist theory and biting anarchist comment subscribe to

**BLACK FLAG**

organ of the

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS**

(£2.50 Europe/£5.00 airmail)





Joaquin Delgado Martinez, militant anarchist of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (F.I.J.L.) executed by *Garrote-vil* in Carabanchel Prison, Madrid, August 18, 1963, for organising an attempt on the life of Francisco Franco - Butcher of Spain.

£1.35